

Spatial Patterns of Internal Migration: Evidence for Ethnic Groups in Britain

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ABSTRACT

Internal migration is responsible for the changing geography of Britain's ethnic group populations. Although this changing geography is at the centre of heated debates of social policy, relatively little is known about the internal migration behaviour of different ethnic groups. This paper reviews existing evidence and analyses 1991 and 2001 Census data to provide an overview of patterns and trends in the geographies of migration for each ethnic group. It finds that counter-urbanisation is common to all ethnic groups except Chinese. Both White and minority groups have on balance moved from the most non-White areas in similar proportions, with some exceptions including White movement into the most concentrated Black areas, and Chinese movement towards its own urban concentrations. 'White flight' is not an appropriate term to describe White movement, nor to explain the growth of ethnically diverse urban areas. Copyright © 2009 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

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INTRODUCTION

The ethnic composition of neighbourhoods and its causes and consequences have been central to social policy debate in Britain in recent years. In the past, particular attention has been paid to whether minority ethnic groups are residentially concentrated, segregated, isolated or dispersed (e.g. Robinson, 1993; Peach, 1996; Phillips, 1998; Simpson, 2004; Rees and Butt, 2004; Johnston *et al.*, 2005). There is a consensual conclusion that levels of segregation akin to American-style ghettos cannot be found in Britain, but that ethnic clustering is a continuing feature of British residential geography, evidenced by indices of segregation that are stable or slightly reducing (Parkinson *et al.*, 2006; Simpson, 2007).

We have argued earlier (Simpson *et al.*, 2008) that the focus should be more on the processes that produce the mosaic of ethnic geography, which have been neglected and which include migration as a key component. A companion article has described the probability of migration, migrant characteristics and the distance of migration (Finney and Simpson, 2008). It found common characteristics of migrants for each ethnic group, with higher rates of migration for young adults, the unemployed, those not in families, those in rented tenure, and professional occupations. This paper examines the origins and destinations of migrants, asking whether the geographies of internal migration within Britain differ between ethnic groups, and to what extent such differences explain the ethnic residential patterns.

The ethnic integration literature has suggested that migration of immigrants and their descendants away from immigrant settlement areas will occur over time as minority ethnic groups

integrate socially and economically. Social integration is thus associated with sequential moves away from dense urban areas and co-ethnic concentrations (Alba and Nee, 1997). It is therefore understandable that continued ethnic clustering has been interpreted as a lack of integration. Discourses of 'White flight' and of 'self-segregation' of minority ethnic groups have characterised recent policy debate in Britain. The dominant account suggests that geographical concentrations of residents of the same ethnic background act as magnets for residents of that same group, keeping them in place and attracting others from elsewhere in the country. Thus residential segregation, and by implication social segregation, is reinforced (Ouseley, 2001; Cattle, 2001; Community Cohesion Panel, 2004; DCLG, 2007). This 'self-segregation' is partnered by the movement of the majority White population from minority ethnic areas, resulting in isolation and 'parallel lives'.

This argument is persistent despite the evidence that minorities have spread their residence of location during the 1980s and 1990s (Robinson, 1992; Champion, 1996; Rees and Butt, 2004). The latest census shows a net loss of 2.0% of minorities through migration from the least White localities in one year, similar to the 2.3% loss for White groups (Simpson, 2007: Table 4). The reproduction of ethnic clustering is more complex than isolation and self-segregation, and worthy of a brief review of the evidence of cultural, socio-economic and demographic processes that shape ethnic geography before we focus specifically on internal migration.

From a longer historical perspective, it is clear that immigrant groups and their offspring have migrated away from settlement areas in Britain. It is also apparent that internal migration routes may be established for some ethnic groups, resulting in the retention of ethnic clusters. For example, Jewish populations in London and Manchester have migrated out of urban centres with upward socioeconomic mobility, but have re-grouped elsewhere in the cities (Newman, 1985; Valins, 2003). The Irish too, who constituted a third of the populations of London, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham and Glasgow in the mid-nineteenth century (MacRaild, 1999), dispersed from urban centres but remained residentially clustered around cultural and religious networks (Busteed *et al.*, 1992; Busteed, 2000; Neal, 2000).

The speed of dispersal and the creation of new clusters may vary between minority ethnic groups for a variety of reasons. Racism, hostility, and discrimination in the housing market (distinguished as 'bad' segregation by Peach, 1996), may restrict dispersal to new areas. Extended family relationships, participation in religious and other group-related activities and opportunities for work within ethnic enclaves may each provide benefits from clustering, whether in settlement areas or in new locations.

Conversely, well-established internal migration processes may explain the movement of people regardless of ethnicity. For example, the migration from central areas to suburbs and to more rural areas has been a phenomenon in developed countries for the past 50 years. We call this pattern counter-urbanisation (to include suburbanisation), as both short and longer distance migration of this sort is associated with upward social mobility, longer commuting distances (or tele-working) and dispersal of economic centres from central cities. It is equivalent to the cascade of migration from most urban to least urban areas (Champion *et al.*, 1998). Since minority ethnic groups live predominantly in central urban areas (shown later in this article), counter-urbanisation could explain the movement of both White and minority groups away from minority group concentrations.

The youth of some minority populations has two opposite effects on ethnic residential clustering, which includes the Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups in Britain in particular at present. Young populations have an excess of births over deaths, a major factor in enlarging existing clusters of the minority ethnic population. However, this *in situ* natural growth is associated with housing pressure and out-migration, a dynamic which has also been observed elsewhere in Europe (e.g. the Netherlands; see Bontje and Latten, 2005).

Population pressure is also central in the displacement hypothesis, which suggests that an existing population is displaced (or replaced – the sequence is often unproven) by a migrant population. A growing body of work has considered how internal migration is affected by immigration. Dutch cities, for example, have experienced 'a negative residential migration balance and a positive international migration balance' since the 1980s (Bontje and Latten, 2005:

448), and evidence from the US supports the same pattern (Frey, 1995; Hempstead, 2002). Indeed, in the US, immigration has been found to have an independent effect on internal out-migration at the metropolitan level (Frey, 1995), although the findings in Canada are less conclusive (Hou and Bourne, 2006). Neither in Europe nor in North America, however, has this internal migration been found to be ethnically differentiated; the flight from cities of high immigration, particularly for the more educated, is not ethnically distinguishable (Ellis and Goodwin-White, 2006).

The current article aims to make a contribution to the evidence on ethnic group migration patterns in the UK in two specific and modest ways. Firstly, the net movement from or towards concentrations of each ethnic group is measured, from both the 1991 and the 2001 censuses. These results allow an assessment of some explanatory accounts of migration, at least to the extent that 'retreat' or 'mixing' is found to be dominant, while consistency over time adds weight to findings. Secondly, ethnic groups will be compared in the extent of their counter-urbanisation using a classification of local authority districts of Britain. The cascade of migration from London to cities to urban and to more rural areas found for the population as a whole is examined for ethnic groups separately, in order to describe the socio-economic pattern of migration and to identify deviations from it. While the quantitative data from censuses are ideal for this purpose, explanations for such deviations will inevitably be speculative and suggestive of qualitative and other further research.

MEASUREMENT

Finney and Simpson (2008) review the challenges of measuring ethnicity and migration, including from the Census, which is the only current source in Britain of subnational migration data with an ethnic group dimension. Ethnic group was recorded with different classifications in the 1991 and 2001 censuses, such that seven categories are closely comparable over time (White, Caribbean, African, Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Chinese), leaving a residual category that is not comparable over time (Office for National Statistics, 2006; Simpson and Akinwale, 2007). The restriction of migration data in both censuses

further limits the ethnic categories that can be used in this article, such that 'Black' is a single category combining Caribbean, African and Other Black. Internal migration is measured for the 12-month period before each Census and was captured more completely in 2001 than in 1991. The inclusion of migrant students and infants, of migration from Northern Ireland, and a more complete allowance for non-response, together entirely account for the increase in internal migration from the 4.69 million recorded for 1990–1991 to the 6.05 million recorded for 2000–2001 (Stillwell and Duke-Williams, 2007). The difference is substantial and should caution against interpreting *absolute numbers* of migrants without reference to possible errors, but should not prevent interpretation of rates and geographical patterns. Net flows away from cities are over-estimated by the 1991 Census, for example, but *patterns* of counterurbanisation not reversed (Simpson and Middleton, 1999).

This article uses the Special Migration Statistics released by the UK statistical offices. Both 1991 and 2001 censuses tabulate the flows between local authority districts for each ethnic group. Table SMS5 for 1990–91 uses four ethnic group categories and flows between 458 districts, while Table SMS3 for 2000–01 uses seven ethnic group categories and flows between 408 districts, district boundaries having been redrawn during the decade between censuses. Two classifications of districts are used in the analysis to explore theories of ethnic mixing and counterurbanisation respectively. The ethnic composition of each district is computed separately for each census. The classification of local authority districts on an urban–rural scale is that used by Champion (1989) and updated for Parkinson *et al.* (2006), based originally on socio-demographic cluster analysis of late twentieth century data by the Office for Population Censuses and Surveys.

LOCATION AND MOVEMENT OF ETHNIC GROUPS IN BRITAIN

Table 1 shows the ethnic composition of Britain in 1991 and 2001. It uses the full population estimates of Sabater and Simpson (2007), including estimates of non-response in both censuses, for seven comparable groups. The population of each group has increased but more so for minority ethnic groups, which in 2001 had together

Table 1. Great Britain population, ethnic group.

	1991		2001	
All people	55,831,363	100.0%	57,424,178	100.0%
White	52,441,709	93.9%	52,679,123	91.7%
Minority ethnic groups	3,389,654	6.1%	4,745,055	8.3%
Caribbean	570,751	1.0%	578,628	1.0%
African	258,746	0.5%	507,789	0.9%
Indian	903,024	1.6%	1,074,392	1.9%
Pakistani	519,115	0.9%	766,399	1.3%
Bangladeshi	178,195	0.3%	291,468	0.5%
Chinese	184,788	0.3%	252,410	0.4%
Other	775,035	1.4%	1,273,970	2.2%

Source: Sabater and Simpson (2007).

reached 8.3% of the total population, such that the Indian, Pakistani, Caribbean and African populations all exceeded half a million. Table 2 shows the location of each ethnic group in different types of local authority district located primarily on an urban–rural scale. Where the location quotient values are greater than one, the group has greater representation in that type of district than does the population as a whole, which is shown in the first column. The White population, and in particular those describing themselves as British, are under-represented in London and the major metropolitan cities and over-represented in rural areas. Minority ethnic groups are disproportionately located in both Inner and Outer London, and are resident much less often in remote urban areas and rural areas, where the location quotient falls to 0.1 for most minority groups. While 8.7% of the total population live in mainly rural remote areas, the equivalent Indian percentage is a tenth of this value, less than 1%.

There are variations between the groups. Indians are significantly more over-represented in Outer London than Inner London, while the opposite is true for the Bangladeshi, Caribbean, African and Other Black populations in 2001. The Chinese and the Mixed groups are more evenly spread than other minorities, and while under-represented outside major urban areas, are less so than other groups. The African group was particularly concentrated in Inner London at the time of the 2001 Census, with nearly 50% of its population resident there, 9.7 times the average. In general, however, the location of minority ethnic groups in Britain coincides with the more

densely populated urban areas. This is largely a result of the urban location of employment opportunities for immigrant labour in the second half of the twentieth century. Previous censuses show a similar pattern, with for example a location quotient for Inner London minority ethnic groups of 4.6 in 1991 compared with 4.2 in 2001.

The distribution of population shown in Table 2 is influenced by immigration, natural change from births and deaths, and by the internal migration which is the focus of this paper. The impact of internal migration may be measured at many different scales. In broad regional terms there has been a continuing drift of population from the north to the south of Britain (where the south is the Eastern, London, East Midlands, South East and South West Government Office Regions and the north is elsewhere). This southward migration was seen in 1991 for all groups, and was repeated in 2001 with the exception of the Black and Mixed groups, but in every case the net movement in the year before the census was small, amounting to less than 0.2% of the group's population. To put this and later results in context, 11% of the population moved within Britain in the year before the 2001 Census. Most moved short distances, such that fewer than half moved over district boundaries. Net balances of migration over district boundaries are even smaller.

The local impact of internal migration on each group is much larger than the north–south drift. Table 3 lists the districts in Britain that were the greatest gainers and losers in the year before the 2001 Census, using four broad ethnic groups in

Table 2. Location quotients between district types, ethnic group.

	Whole population %	Location quotients														
		White	White British	White Irish	Other White	Minority groups	Mixed	Indian	Pakistani	Bangladeshi	Other Asian	Caribbean	African	Other Black	Chinese	Other
1 Inner London	4.8	0.7	0.6	2.8	4.7	4.2	3.3	1.7	1.2	9.4	3.1	6.9	9.7	7.6	3.3	4.9
2 Outer London	7.7	0.8	0.7	2.4	2.4	3.1	2.3	4.3	1.7	1.2	5.0	3.5	4.0	3.3	2.2	3.3
3 Principal Metropolitan cities	6.8	0.9	0.9	1.6	0.7	1.7	1.5	1.2	3.5	1.7	1.3	1.8	0.7	1.7	1.6	1.2
4 Other Metropolitan districts	15.1	1.0	1.0	0.8	0.4	0.9	0.8	1.1	1.8	0.8	0.6	0.5	0.2	0.4	0.6	0.4
5 Large cities	6.3	1.0	1.0	0.8	0.9	1.1	1.1	1.6	1.0	0.7	0.9	0.7	0.5	0.7	1.2	0.9
6 Small cities	3.8	1.0	1.0	0.9	1.2	0.7	1.1	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.7	0.5	0.4	0.5	1.3	1.2
7 Industrial areas	13.8	1.0	1.1	0.6	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.8	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.5	0.3
8 New towns	4.7	1.0	1.1	0.9	0.6	0.6	0.8	0.5	0.6	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.9	0.6
9 Resort, port and retirement	6.4	1.1	1.1	0.6	0.7	0.2	0.6	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.6	0.5
10 Mixed urban-rural	14.8	1.0	1.0	0.8	1.0	0.5	0.8	0.6	0.4	0.3	0.6	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.8	0.7
11 Mixed urban-rural - remote	4.1	1.1	1.1	0.5	0.8	0.2	0.6	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.6	0.5
12 Mainly rural	2.9	1.1	1.1	0.5	0.5	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.3
13 Mainly rural - remote	8.7	1.1	1.1	0.4	0.6	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.3
Total	100.0															

Source: 2001 Census.

Table 3. Internal net migration by ethnic group, districts, 2000–2001: greatest gainers and losers in Britain.

	White	Minority ethnic groups	Black	South Asian	Other non-White
Net migration					
<i>Greatest gainers</i>					
1	East Riding	Hillingdon	Barking & D'ham	Redbridge	Hillingdon
	2835	1595	939	1072	239
2	Leeds	Redbridge	Croydon	Hillingdon	Kingston-u-Thames
	2326	1509	810	809	184
3	Southampton	Barking & D'ham	Hillingdon	Croydon	Manchester
	2136	1274	547	386	169
4	Edinburgh	Croydon	Greenwich	Kingston-u-Thames	Warwick
	2118	1199	528	386	169
5	Lambeth	Kingston-u-Thames	Redbridge	Manchester	Leeds
	1968	666	461	340	161
<i>Greatest losers</i>					
1	Birmingham	Brent	Southwark	Ealing	Lambeth
	-5053	-1923	-1514	-1127	-349
2	Croydon	Lambeth	Lambeth	Newham	Camden
	-3327	-1861	-1282	-1071	-332
3	Ealing	Ealing	Hackney	Brent	Islington
	-2583	-1683	-1180	-928	-331
4	Enfield	Haringey	Haringey	Tower Hamlets	Haringey
	-2559	-1679	-1071	-536	-279
5	Harrow	Newham	Wandsworth	Wandsworth	Wandsworth
	-3014	-1645	-770	-513	-272
Net migration rate (%)					
<i>Greatest gainers</i>					
1	City of London	Rutland	Rutland	Forest Heath	Warwick
	2.3	8.3	25.2	26.4	7.0
2	North Kesteven	Shepway	Harborough	Rutland UA	Blaby
	1.8	7.8	19.7	19.6	6.8
3	E Northants	E Cambridgeshire	Bridgend	Shepway	Ashford
	1.7	6.8	18.3	15.2	6.5
4	Eastbourne	Harborough	Isle of Wight UA	Carrick	Rochford
	1.5	6.5	16.4	15.0	6.0
5	Forest Heath	Carrick	Poole UA	Boston	Adur
	1.5	6.1	16.3	11.1	5.7
<i>Greatest losers</i>					
1	Harrow	Malvern Hills	Broadland	Kennet	Malvern Hills
	-2.5	-7.6	-20.5	-17.5	-9.1
2	Newham	Shrewsbury/Atcham	Burnley	Halton	West Lindsey
	-2.4	-7.3	-16.5	-15.0	-7.9
3	Hounslow	Stratford-on-Avon	Salisbury	Denbighshire	Boston
	-1.7	-5.1	-15.6	-12.7	-7.4
4	Redbridge	Dover	South Bucks	Hart	Dumfries & Galloway
	-1.6	-4.6	-14.2	-12.1	-7.1
5	Surrey Heath	Broadland	Fareham	Chichester	Shrewsbury/Atcham
	-1.5	-4.6	-14.1	-10.2	-6.9

Notes: Migration data, SMS 2001 Level 1 Table 3. Population, Census 2001 KS06. Only districts with at least a population of 100 for each ethnic group are included.

which Chinese is combined with Mixed and Other. London Boroughs dominate large changes in minority populations. All the districts losing most minority migrants are in Inner London, or are districts of Outer London which already had large minority populations (such as the Indian populations of Ealing and Brent). The greatest gains are in Outer London. Manchester also features as gaining South Asian population and the 'Other non-White' category, which also gains in Warwick and Leeds.

The districts with the largest percentage gains and losses differ somewhat from the gross gainers

and losers, although it is important to remember that these rates are influenced by the size of the district population (even though Table 3 is limited to those with populations greater than 100 residents in each of the four broad ethnic groups in 2001). The significance of the London districts, particularly for out-migration of Whites, is confirmed.

Figure 1 presents district net migration for Whites and minorities taken as a whole, as thematic maps in which the size of each district is proportional to the size of its total population. Out-migration of the White population can clearly

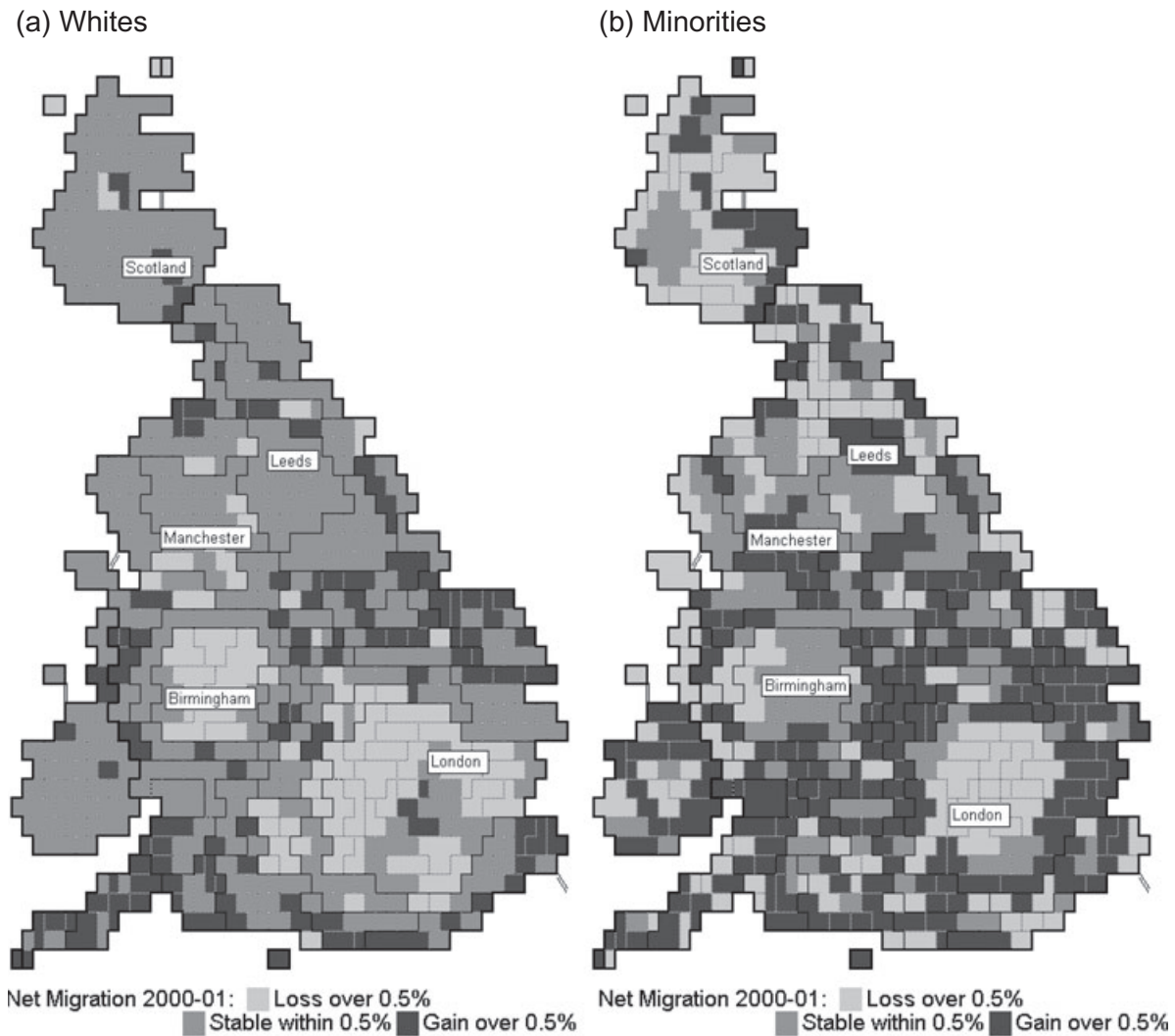


Figure 1. Net migration within the UK, 2000–2001, as % of 2001 population, for districts of Great Britain.
 Note: These maps show areas of equal total population with local authority district and county boundaries, using the framework prepared by Durham *et al.* (2006).

be seen from districts in London and the south-east, along the M4 corridor and from Birmingham and the West Midlands. White in-migration is particularly notable outside the most urban areas, to south-west England, coastal areas and the more rural districts of the East Midlands. Most districts have a stable White population, not changing through migration by more than 0.5%. The minority populations are relatively very small in many districts, and as a result there is less stability. The general pattern of gains and losses is similar to the White population, with most growth through migration taking place outside the major urban areas. However, minority out-migration is not only from London but also from many relatively remote areas; this will be explored later in this article where Indian and Chinese movement from rural areas is discussed.

The local impact of migration suggests outward movement of both White and minority groups from urban areas. Because the rates are affected by small numbers, the next section classifies districts in order to create a more robust measurement of migration patterns. The two classifications, of co-ethnic concentration and of urbanisation, coincide with the two common explanations of movement of ethnic groups. One cannot fully disentangle these two explanations, since concentrations of minority populations tend to be

within urban city districts, as we have seen above.

INTERNAL MIGRATION AND ETHNIC COMPOSITION

A further view of the geography of internal migration can be gained from examining the direction of moves in relation to the areas of greatest and least concentration of each ethnic group, directly addressing the question of dispersal of each ethnic group within Britain. We examine each group's level of concentrations first, before turning to the impact upon them of internal migration. In Table 4, the 408 local authority districts of Britain are divided into quintiles after sorting them by increasing percentage of a group's residents. Each quintile has as close as possible to a fifth of the total of the group's population of Great Britain. The use of quintiles allows an assessment of the net movement to or from populations of equal size, and avoids the volatile rates associated with small populations. For example, the quintile with the lowest percentage minority population in 1991 had 1.7% minority population spread throughout 323 districts, while the quintile with the highest percentage minority population includes the same total minority population in just nine districts, all in London (Brent, Ealing,

Table 4. Uneven distribution of ethnic groups, Britain 1991 and 2001, lowest and highest quintiles.

		% of population in lowest concentration districts	% of population in highest concentration districts	Ratio highest/lowest
Minorities	1991	1.7	35.7	20.6
	2001	2.4	44.2	18.4
Indian	1991	0.4	18.5	44.5
	2001	0.5	21.1	42.2
Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Other South Asian	1991	0.3	12.8	39.1
	2001	0.6	19.2	32.0
Chinese	1991	0.1	1.4	9.9
	2001	0.2	0.7	3.5
Caribbean	1991	0.2	11.8	48.1
	2001	0.2	11.3	47.5
African	1991	0.1	7.6	69.8
	2001	0.2	13.8	68.3
White	1991	80.8	99.4	1.2
	2001	75.7	99.1	1.3

Each quintile contains a fifth of the group's population.

Source: 1991 (full population estimates) and 2001 Census. The Mixed and Other groups are not shown here as they are not comparable over time, but are included in the figures for Minorities as a whole.

Hackney, Harrow, Lambeth, Newham, Redbridge, Southwark, Tower Hamlets), and had 35.7% minority population.

For no group except White does its percentage in the highest quintile reach a majority of the local population. The highest concentrations of minorities are in areas of great diversity including a majority of White residents.

Growth of the minority populations increases their proportions in the population. In the quintile of districts where minorities were most concentrated they constituted 35.7% of the population in 1991, but 44.2% of the population in 2001. Population growth during the decade led to an increase in each minority's proportion in its lowest concentrations, and most also in their highest concentrations.

To indicate the spread or geographical concentration of a group without the influence of population growth, Table 4 shows the ratio of the group proportion in the highest quintile and the lowest quintile. Both quintiles contain a fifth of the group's population, but in different numbers of districts. By design the highest quintile for any group will have a higher percentage of that group than the lowest quintile. The ratio shows how focused a group's residence pattern is in some districts rather than others. For minorities as a whole, in 1991 this ratio was 20.6 and reduced to 18.4 in 2001, and there is a similar slight reduction in concentration for each group except the White population. The residential distribution indicated by the ratio of group proportions in highest to lowest quintiles differs between groups. The Chinese distribution is less uneven and has reduced greatly during the 1990s when substantial immigration, particularly of students, has not been targeted to the existing concentrations of Chinese. The Caribbean and African populations also have high concentrations, which slightly decreased during the 1990s. The African population is of relatively recent residence in Britain, and unlike the Chinese population has concentrated in a few districts, mainly in London.

The change in distribution between quintiles of concentration is a result of a variety of influences on local population size. Differential birth rates increase the population in some places more than others, as does immigration, each affecting the concentration of a group. We now focus on the impact of internal migration within the UK, and

in doing so, aim to answer directly whether and to what extent groups are moving towards or away from their own concentrations and those of other groups.

Tables 5 and 6 present net in-migration in 2001 and 1991. Migration is shown for the White and the minority groups as a whole, and for each of the ethnic groups for which migration was reported in the two censuses. This is a development of the Migration Dispersal Index defined by Simpson (2007) as the rate of net migration of a group from those districts in which it was most concentrated.

The first row of Table 5 shows net movement of minority residents away from their own concentrations, into other areas. In the year before the 2001 Census, almost 1% (0.96%) of the minority populations on balance migrated out from the districts with highest concentration of minority population. At the other end of the scale, those districts with least minority population gained through a net balance of in-migration (0.69%). This is clear evidence of dispersal of the minority ethnic populations. The net movement out of the highest concentration districts was a little greater as a percentage than that of the White population from the same districts (0.96% rather than 0.82%).¹ 'White flight' is not a suitable term to describe the migration from these districts, unless one also adds 'non-White flight' in the same description. The movement could be considered as non-racial movement from poor housing. The White movement, however, is greater from the medium quintiles with a lower proportion of minority residents. At the opposite end of the scale, the movement into the least minority (or most White) areas is greatest by minority residents as a percentage of their population – 0.69% compared with 0.18% for Whites in the year before the 2001 Census – although it is small numerically compared with the White movement to those 323 districts in which the White population dominates.

The remainder of Table 5 shows the same analysis for each ethnic group separately. In each case the 408 districts of Britain are divided into quintiles according to the local percentage of the group as in Table 4. The net movement is shown in each quintile for the group itself, for minority residents as a whole, and for White residents.

Dispersal is evident for each of the Indian, Other South Asian (in which the Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups are largest), Black, Mixed

Table 5. Migration between group concentrations and other areas, 2000–01.

Ethnic group for which concentrations are defined	Ethnic groups for which migration is given	Net in-migration 2000–01, % of 2001 population				
		Lowest concentration	Low concentration	Medium concentration	High concentration	Highest concentration
Minority ethnic groups	Minority	0.69	0.57	-0.10	-0.11	-0.96
	White	0.18	-0.10	-0.68	-0.88	-0.82
Indian	Minority	0.18	-0.18	0.24	-0.04	-0.42
	White	0.15	-0.27	-0.59	-1.13	-1.23
	Indian	0.96	0.18	-0.29	-0.38	-0.40
Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Other S. Asian	Minority	0.43	0.03	-0.32	-0.19	-0.47
	White	0.16	-0.20	-0.67	-0.80	-0.79
	P, B & OSA	0.68	0.07	-0.45	0.06	-0.34
Chinese	Minority	0.41	1.15	-0.02	-0.13	-0.26
	White	0.28	-0.01	-0.01	-0.28	-0.75
	Chinese	-1.71	0.49	0.06	0.40	0.93
Black	Minority	0.48	0.25	-0.26	-0.84	-1.45
	White	0.13	-0.62	-1.03	-1.30	0.13
	Black	1.77	0.79	-0.09	-0.76	-1.65
Mixed	Minority	0.14	0.80	0.74	0.10	-1.13
	White	0.23	-0.02	-0.16	-0.63	-0.87
	Mixed	0.66	0.93	0.47	-0.63	-1.39
Other	Minority	0.14	0.83	0.43	-1.16	-0.76
	White	0.15	0.01	-0.30	-0.82	-1.06
	Other	-0.58	0.47	0.73	-0.30	-0.22
White	Minority	-0.24	0.89	0.91	0.17	-0.61
	White	-0.53	-0.07	0.20	0.30	0.22

Source: 2001 Census Special Migration Statistics.

Table 6. Migration between concentrations and other areas, 1990–91.

Ethnic group for which concentrations are defined	Ethnic groups for which migration is given	Net in-migration 1990–91, % of 1991 population				
		Lowest concentration	Low concentration	Medium concentration	High concentration	Highest concentration
Minority ethnic groups	Minority	0.54	0.07	0.16	0.14	-0.84
	White	0.21	-0.22	-0.73	-0.97	-1.66
South Asian	Minority	0.41	-0.33	0.07	0.09	-0.27
	White	0.18	-0.63	-0.35	-0.65	-1.33
	South Asian	0.75	-0.37	0.04	-0.01	-0.39
Black	Minority	0.35	0.33	-0.05	-0.66	-1.02
	White	0.17	-0.48	-0.86	-1.30	-1.70
	Black	0.31	0.43	0.60	-0.49	-0.74
Other	Minority	0.49	-0.01	0.11	0.18	-0.71
	White	0.32	-0.16	-0.46	-1.10	-1.44
	Other	0.47	-0.01	0.08	0.01	-0.54
White	Minority	-0.17	0.31	0.75	0.44	0.92
	White	-0.73	-0.17	0.08	0.32	0.48

Source: 1991 Census Special Migration Statistics.

and Other minority ethnic groups. In each case there is movement out of the group's most concentrated districts and into its least concentrated districts. For the Indian group the net out-migration is monotonically changing across the five quintiles from highest Indian concentration (−0.40%) to lowest (0.96%), to which there is net in-migration of Indian residents. The same pattern of movement away from Indian concentrations is also evident for the White group and for minority groups as a whole. In general the pattern is of slow but steady movement from minority group concentrations of both White and minority populations.

There are several significant exceptions to the pattern of dispersal of both White and minority groups from minority group concentrations. The Chinese were moving in the opposite direction, out of areas in which they are least concentrated and into areas in which they are most concentrated. As noted above, the Chinese are already more evenly distributed than other groups and are a small population: their highest 'concentration' quintile had only 0.7% of those areas' residents in 2001. In the year before the Census their population in these areas increased by nearly 1%. Conversely, the Chinese population in least concentrated areas was further decreased by nearly 2% through migration within the UK. One reason may lie in the migration to urban areas of the children of geographically isolated Chinese immigrants who favoured the catering industry in the 1960s and 1970s. However, this one-year migration towards Chinese concentrations is contrary to the decreasing concentration noted over the decade as a whole in the discussion of Table 4.

The second exception to the pattern of migration away from minority concentrations is the net movement of White residents into the districts of highest Black concentration. The four London Boroughs of Southwark, Lambeth, Hackney and Lewisham, which together contain a fifth of the Black population of Britain, show a loss of the Black population through internal out-migration, but growing diversity through White in-migration. This may be partly the impact of social gentrification within London where young middle classes have displaced working-class residents in some areas, partly but not exclusively associated with new housing developments (Butler, 2002).

The final panel of Table 5 shows that White movement is towards the 'White concentrations',

although such a term is problematic since even in their lowest concentration quintile the White population makes up 76% of the local population (Table 4). Because the rural and less urban areas are the most White in composition, this apparent difference with minority ethnic populations can also be seen as consistent with counterurbanisation of all groups.

Table 5 also shows that dispersal of minority groups excludes destinations to the most White areas. Although in the top panel of Table 5 minority movement is towards areas of least minority concentration as noted above, the final panel of Table 5 shows that minority movement is *away* from areas of highest White concentration, which lost 0.61% of their minority population during 2000–01. This apparent contradiction is resolved because the most concentrated White quintile involves only 108 districts, a subset of the 323 districts which contain the least concentrated minority fifth. This subset of very White areas has over 99% White population, compared with 97.6% in the 323 districts as a whole. This gives further insight into race and migration in Britain. Minority populations are moving into areas where they have been few, but not staying in the most White areas. Further study of these 'Whitest' areas, to clarify whether minorities are avoiding as well as leaving them, would help to clarify the processes of ethnic group population dynamics in Britain.

Might the dispersal of minority populations be an artefact of the period in which the 2001 Census was taken? Unless the dispersal evident for the year before the 2001 Census were repeated each year, then its impact of around 1% on the population would be small compared with immigration and natural growth from births, which add a similar order of magnitude to the population of most areas irrespective of concentration (e.g. Simpson *et al.*, 2008). In fact, the evidence suggests that dispersal from minority concentrations is a continuing process before and since 2001. In the year before the 1991 Census, minority dispersal away from concentrations to other parts of Britain was clear for minority groups taken as a whole and for each individual group, and was taking place at a similar rate as in 2001 (Table 6). The net White movement out of minority concentrations has slowed down since 1991 when, at 1.66%, it was twice the rate of 0.82% found from the 2001 Census. The White inward movement to

Black concentrations is a new feature of 2001. There is little evidence to illustrate the ethnic dimension of migration since 2001. However, the Office for National Statistics produces annual estimates for the ethnic composition of each district in England, which gives indirect evidence of continued dispersal and the movement of White population into London:

'In general, the highest growth rates are seen in those areas with small starting populations of non-“White British”, with, conversely, the lowest growth rates associated with high proportions. 13 LADs (11 in Inner London and 2 in Outer London) show a fall in the proportion of the total population belonging to a non-“White British” group between 2001 and 2005.' (Office for National Statistics, 2007: 1).

It might also be suggested that a phenomenon of White flight or retreat, while it clearly is not occurring for local authority districts, may be taking place at more local scales. Districts have between 20,000 and a million residents. For smaller areas of electoral wards and the smallest Census Output Areas of around 200 households each, only the dichotomy White–Other is available in tables about migration, for the year before the 2001 Census. These, however, also show dispersal of both White and Other population away from the highest concentrations of minority population (Simpson, 2007: Table 4). Movement out of the quintile of Output Areas of highest minority concentrations in 2000–01 was 2.3% of their White population and 2.0% of their minority population. When restricting attention still

further to the tenth of Output Areas with highest minority population in which minorities are 82% of the population, the movement out is higher but again at similar rates: 2.5% of their White population and 2.8% of their minority population.

We next explore whether dispersal of both White and minority populations from minority concentrations is a pervasive phenomenon. We use the geographical scale of electoral wards, intermediate between Census Output Areas and Districts, with an average of about 8000 residents in urban areas. Table 7 lists places which fit and do not fit the dispersal pattern, by identifying the net migration from minority concentrations within each district. The table lists all 35 districts in Britain where minorities, when taken as a whole, are the majority of at least one electoral ward. The districts are classified according to the net impact of within-UK migration on the White and minority population in the ward(s) where minorities make up a majority of the population. In 22 of these districts, there is net out-migration of both White and minority populations, confirming the dispersal from concentrations of minority population. In 15 of these 22 districts, outward movement is greater for the minority populations. These include Birmingham, Tower Hamlets, Blackburn and Burnley, districts often associated in government reports and the media with poor or difficult community relations. In all these districts, whatever the state of community relations, there has not been any more out-migration from minority concentrations by the White population than by the minority population itself.

Table 7. Internal migration from minority White areas.

	Minority movement out	Minority movement in
White movement out	<i>Minority out-movement greater than White out-movement</i> Ealing, Newham, Birmingham, Blackburn & Darwen, Brent, Pendle, Tower Hamlets, Southwark, Burnley, Sandwell, Slough, Lewisham, Peterborough, Bolton, Derby	Harrow, Waltham Forest
	<i>White out-movement greater than minority out-movement</i> Redbidge, Luton, Hounslow, Croydon, Oldham, Haringey, Hyndburn	Trafford, Hackney, Preston
White movement in	Leicester, Bradford, Wolverhampton, Coventry, Lambeth, Wycombe, Manchester, Merton	

Source: Census 2001 Table KS24. Net movement within the UK 2000–01, from the least White electoral ward within each District that contains at least one minority White ward.

Bradford and Leicester are two districts often identified as on their way to minority ghettoisation, of Pakistani and Indian populations respectively (Phillips, 2005). In fact, according to the 2001 Census, White migration within the UK was on balance towards the minority concentrations within each of these two districts, while minorities were moving away; there is more mixing rather than retreat. Eight districts in total are included in this category where White movement was into a minority concentration from which minorities were moving out.

In only five of the minority concentrations did the minority population gain through migration from other parts of the UK. In Trafford, Hackney and Preston this reflects a general gain of population involving White in-migration also. This leaves only the minority concentrations within Harrow and Waltham Forest in Outer London, where net movement in of minorities was opposite to net movement out of White population. Are these two the least socially cohesive areas of Britain, where populations are retreating from each other? This is unlikely. Both districts receive migration of minorities from Inner London. Harrow is a relatively prosperous Borough. Its non-White concentration is in Kenton East where semi-detached housing allows physical expansion for upwardly socially mobile Indian homeowners. Waltham Forest is a more diverse area with major African, Caribbean, Pakistani and White populations. Its concentration centred on Leyton has good communication into Central London. In both cases, non-White migrants join from inner London while White out-migration follows counterurbanisation to places further from London's centre. They are two areas of change rather than retreat.

Profiles for these 35 districts and a further 47 with substantial minority population, containing more detailed statistics on migration, natural change and mixed areas, are available online (Simpson, 2005).

INTERNAL MIGRATION AND COUNTERURBANISATION

In this section we use types of district which distinguish a scale of decreasing density of urban settlements, from the Inner London Boroughs to the mainly rural districts that are relatively remote from major urban centres. Do the more

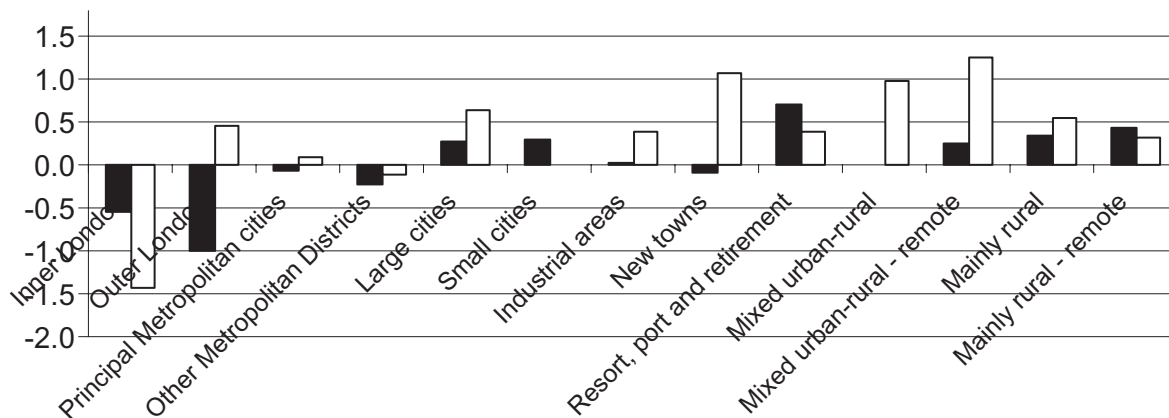
recent census migration data suggest common aspects of counterurbanisation for all groups, and what features are unique to some groups?

Although both White and Other ethnic groups show a similar pattern of movement out of Inner London and metropolitan districts, and into other cities and less urban districts, this counterurbanising pattern is less uniform for 2001 than for 1991, with features that differ between White and minority groups taken as a whole (Fig. 2). In 1991, a steady gradient of counterurbanisation of the White population found expression in greatest out-migration of over 1% in one year from Inner London and substantial out-migration of over 0.4% from all other major city types. This was balanced by net in-migration adding 0.5% or more to the population of remote and rural areas, including the coastal 'resort, port and retirement' districts. The minority population as a whole closely followed the same pattern, with losses from city districts and gains for rural and remote areas, except in London where Outer London gained through migration from other areas. One could easily see this as a local counterurbanisation involving movement of lesser distance than the White population.

For 2001, the same counterurbanisation is evident but muted. For the White population the impact of internal migration was less than in 1991 for most types of district, with small gains for cities rather than consistent losses. The movement out of Inner London reduced by more than half. This stemming of the net outflow from cities is partly a result of the gentrification of some city areas that has already been mentioned. The minority movement in contrast is now more strongly away from Inner London, whose loss feeds gains in all other district types, except for a small migration from the metropolitan districts that are not regional centres. The minority groups' counterurbanisation is stronger than the White group's outside London, including, as in 1991, faster proportional growth through internal migration to the new towns (established in the 1960s and 1970s) and mixed urban areas outside cities, albeit from a much smaller starting population.

Table 8 shows the same net migration for each of the six minority ethnic groups provided in the Special Migration Statistics of 2001 and the residual Other category. The Chinese and Indian groups show patterns most divergent from the

(a) 2000–01



(b) 1990–91

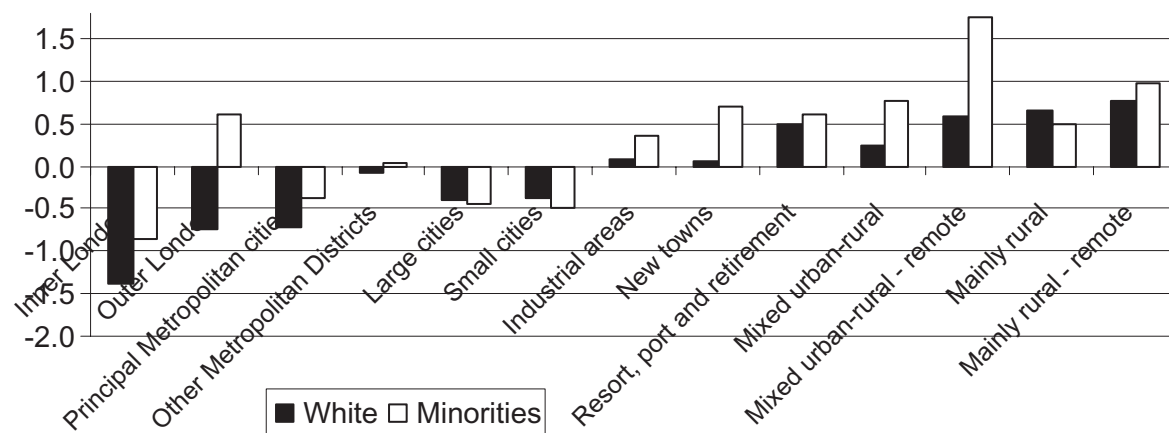


Figure 2. Net migration within UK (% of population), types of district, White and Minorities in 1990–91 and 2000–01.

Source: Censuses 1991 and 2001, Special Migration Statistics and key population statistics.

counterurbanisation of other ethnic minority groups. On balance, Chinese residents have moved not only into Outer London but also into Inner London, and have moved out of new town and rural districts, a contrast with other minority groups that was noted above as a movement towards areas that already have Chinese communities. Indian residents have moved (on balance) out of Outer London, where they have already been established for several decades, and have also moved on balance out of rural and remote districts. Their greatest percentage increase through internal migration has been in new town, retirement-resort-port areas and mixed urban-rural districts. This perhaps reflects the Indian group's demographic maturity in Britain and the

relative prosperity of a larger proportion of Indian residents than other minority groups (Robinson, 1996). It is impossible to tell whether these divergences from the main pattern of counterurbanisation are recent, as the Indian and Chinese groups are subsumed within broader categories in the 1991 census output of migration.

The net migration patterns are reinforced when represented as net migration impact rates. These express net migration as a proportion of the total population of an area, thereby indicating the contribution which net migration of a group makes to overall population change. Due to small numbers, figures are expressed as persons per 10,000 population. The dispersal of the total minority population taken together has greatest

Table 8. Net migration rate and net migration impact rate for ethnic group and district type, Great Britain, 2000–2001.

	Total	White	All minorities	Indian	Pakistani, Bangladeshi and other South Asian	Chinese	Black	Mixed	Other
<i>Net migration rate (net group migration per 100 group population)</i>									
Inner London	-0.8	-0.5	-1.4	-0.9	-1.1	0.5	-1.8	-1.7	-1.0
Outer London	-0.6	-1.0	0.5	-0.0	0.4	0.4	1.1	-0.2	1.2
Principal met. cities	-0.0	-0.1	0.1	0.4	0.0	0.8	0.0	-0.2	0.4
Other met. districts	-0.2	-0.2	-0.1	-0.7	0.0	-0.7	0.7	0.2	-0.3
Large cities	0.3	0.3	0.7	0.3	0.4	1.3	1.3	0.7	2.1
Small cities	0.3	0.3	0.0	-0.0	0.2	-0.4	0.2	0.4	-1.5
Industrial areas	0.0	0.0	0.4	-0.2	0.2	0.2	2.8	-0.1	0.5
New towns	-0.0	-0.1	1.1	1.3	0.8	-1.3	3.7	0.3	-0.5
Resort, port & retirement	0.7	0.7	0.4	1.3	2.5	-2.4	0.7	1.1	-3.2
Mixed urban–rural	0.0	0.0	1.0	1.4	0.0	0.1	2.3	1.1	0.2
Mixed urban–rural – remote	0.3	0.2	1.3	-0.2	4.7	1.1	1.3	0.9	0.3
Mainly rural	0.3	0.3	0.5	-2.6	3.2	-3.6	3.6	1.0	1.2
Mainly rural–remote	0.4	0.4	0.3	-1.1	1.0	-2.5	3.3	1.2	-2.0
<i>Net migration impact rate (net group migration per 10,000 total population)</i>									
Inner London	-84.9	-36.1	-48.8	-2.9	-8.6	0.7	-29.5	-6.4	-2.0
Outer London	-62.9	-74.5	11.7	-0.1	2.0	0.4	8.5	-0.6	1.6
Principal met. cities	-3.8	-5.2	1.4	1.0	0.0	0.5	-0.0	-0.3	0.2
Other met. districts	-21.7	-20.9	-0.8	-1.3	0.1	-0.2	0.5	0.2	-0.0
Large cities	31.3	25.8	5.6	0.8	0.8	0.7	1.6	0.9	0.8
Small cities	27.1	27.1	-0.0	-0.1	0.3	-0.2	0.2	0.5	-0.7
Industrial areas	3.5	2.0	1.5	-0.2	0.2	0.0	1.4	-0.1	0.0
New towns	-3.7	-8.5	4.8	1.2	0.9	-0.5	3.0	0.3	-0.1
Resort, port & retirement	70.8	70.1	0.7	0.3	0.8	-0.6	0.2	0.7	-0.6
Mixed urban–rural	5.4	1.4	4.0	1.6	0.0	0.0	1.3	1.1	0.0
Mixed urban–rural – remote	26.8	24.4	2.5	-0.1	1.2	0.3	0.4	0.6	0.0
Mainly rural	35.3	34.6	0.7	-0.4	0.5	-0.6	0.6	0.4	0.1
Mainly rural–remote	44.0	43.6	0.3	-0.1	0.1	-0.4	0.4	0.5	-0.2

Note: Migration data from 2001 Census Special Migration Statistics, Level 1 Table 3; population data from 2001 Census table KS06.

negative impact on Inner London's population, causing a population decrease of 48.8 per 10,000 due to internal migration (which is balanced by immigration and an excess of births over deaths). The Black outflow from Inner London and into Outer London is particularly notable for its impact, because it is by far the largest minority population in Inner London. White groups' internal migration has greatest negative impact in Outer London (reducing its population in one year by 74.5 per 10,000) and greatest positive impact in resort, port and retirement districts

(increasing their population by 70.1 per 10,000). Generally, the size of the White population means that its migration impact on local populations overshadows that of the minority populations.

The counterurbanisation shown so far by net migration for each district type has been presented by other authors as a cascade of migration from more dense to less dense urban areas, and from these to rural areas (Champion *et al.*, 1998). Table 9 confirms this cascade for 2001 for the population as a whole, showing migration between four broad types of district: London,

Table 9. Net migration between district types and ethnic group, Great Britain, 2000–2001.

Ethnic group	Origin district type	Destination district type		
		Other urban	Mixed	Rural
All people	London	+15,476	+27,852	+9,056
	Other urban		-4,071	+1,703
	Mixed urban–rural			+15,471
White	London	+10,534	+24,765	+8,619
	Other urban		-4,987	+1,986
	Mixed urban–rural			+15,377
Indian	London	+282	+578	+25
	Other urban		+727	-152
	Mixed urban–rural			-9
Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Other South Asian	London	+930	+557	+38
	Other urban		-246	+68
	Mixed urban–rural			+49
Chinese	London	-342	+48	-59
	Other urban		+33	-235
	Mixed urban–rural			-13
Black	London	+3,123	+1,068	+265
	Other urban		+112	+13
	Mixed urban–rural			+29
Mixed	London	+1,076	+831	+164
	Other urban		+278	+82
	Mixed urban–rural			+72
Other	London	-127	+5	+4
	Other urban		+12	-59
	Mixed urban–rural			-34

Notes: Migration data comes from SMS 2001 Level 1 Table 3. District classifications are an aggregation of OPCS district types: London = Inner London, Outer London; Other urban = Met cities, Large cities, Small cities, Industrial areas, New towns, Resort port and retirement; Mixed = Urban–rural, Urban–rural – remote; Rural = Mainly rural, Mainly rural – remote.

other urban, mixed urban–rural, and rural. The migration balance between each pair of district types is shown in the upper triangle of each matrix of area types. London lost 15,000 people to other urban areas, but also 28,000 to mixed urban–rural areas and 9000 to rural areas. Rural areas gained not only from London but also from other urban areas and even more so from mixed urban–rural areas. The only balance opposite to this flow from urban to rural was the net movement of 4000 from mixed urban–rural areas into more fully urban districts. Thus Champion's cascade of counterurbanisation is evident for 2001 using this broad urban–rural classification, although the net movements are not very large. The picture for the White population is very similar to the overall total, which it dominates numerically.

The Pakistani, Bangladeshi and other South Asian group and the Black and Mixed groups show the same counterurbanising cascade as the White group, from London to other urban, to

mixed, to rural areas. The Indian group shows the same cascade except for a net movement away from rural areas towards urban and mixed areas, as discussed above. The two clearest exceptions to the thesis of cascading counterurbanisation are the Chinese and Other groups. In both cases there are net gains in London from other urban districts, and net migration from rural areas to other types of area. In the Chinese case, the largest imbalances are from rural into urban areas outside London, and from those same urban areas outside London into the capital itself. Apart from mixed urban–rural areas holding their Chinese population and attracting more from each other type of district, the major Chinese flows of internal migration are urbanising rather than counterurbanising.

DISCUSSION

We have reviewed census evidence for ethnicity and internal migration within the UK, to comment

on issues of convergence and divergence. Are spatial patterns of migration driven by a common movement out of the cramped housing of cities to less urban spaces? Is there a racial difference in movement that operates in such a way that ethnic groups become more separate? Minority ethnic groups in Britain are located disproportionately in urban areas for historical labour reasons, such that it would be difficult for both these propositions to be true. If minority groups are leaving urban areas, then the less urban spaces they join must be becoming more mixed, whatever they leave behind.

We have found that all ethnic groups except Chinese have been migrating away from areas of minority ethnic concentration for some time. Measured by its percentage impact on the group's population, most movement into areas of highest White concentration is of minority groups, and movement away from highest minority concentrations is equally of White and minority groups. These findings are a challenge to theories of 'self-segregation' and 'White flight'. The movement seems to be better understood in terms of common aspirations to improve housing and environmental living conditions away from dense urban areas. The motivation for dispersal from what might be termed as settlement areas may be partly the push from lack of housing or the pull of better housing for those who have the means to buy themselves out of poor living conditions, but the impact is similar for White and minority groups, and has been so during two decades. The similarity of rates of movement of White and minority groups away from minority concentrations is clear at large and small geographical scales.

It may be that residentially mixed neighbourhoods do not necessarily increase social mixing, and that, for example, social networks do not change simply because of a move between areas. But it is very clear that the pattern of residential segregation in Britain is neither due to a choice by minority groups to move house towards their own concentrations, nor due to White migration out of minority concentrations at a greater rate than minorities themselves. Neither minority self-segregation nor White flight shows up in the detailed migration statistics of two national censuses. On the contrary, we found only two districts (Harrow and Waltham Forest) within which the White population was moving away from minority concentrations that minorities were

joining. These Outer London Boroughs are probably examples of the counterurbanisation in which minorities are moving particularly from Inner London into Outer London (and further), while White populations are moving from Outer London. The net balance of White movement was *into* some minority concentrations, including those within Bradford and Leicester which are media stereotypes of Pakistani and Indian enclaves, respectively, and *into* the four Black concentration districts in London.

The statement that White movement out of minority concentrations was not at a greater rate than minorities themselves needs qualification. This is the case for the minorities taken as a whole, of whom 0.96% moved from their concentrations in the year before the Census, compared with 0.82% of the White population in the same areas. But for the Indian and the rest of the South Asian population, mainly of Pakistani and Bangladeshi origins, the White out-movement was two to three times the minority out-movement (all these figures refer to Table 5). Here the district is probably too large an area to distinguish exactly what is going on. South Asian concentrations are usually located within the urban centre of districts, such as some of the inner areas within the districts of Leicester, Blackburn, Ealing, Oldham or Bradford. If the movement of all groups is generally counterurbanising rather than racial in character, the minority movement out of the concentration often may not cross the district boundary, while the movement of Whites, located throughout the district, will more often cross its boundary. Until more local information is available, the interpretation remains problematic both for ethnic migration patterns at the district scale, and for the crude White–Other dichotomy at the local scale.

Counterurbanisation, taken here to include moves from central to suburban areas, might be an explanation for much of the ethnic pattern of internal migration found in Britain. Movement away from London to other urban areas and further to more rural and remote areas is certainly evident, although less strongly for the White population in 2001 than in 1991. Counterurbanisation is particularly clear for minority groups taken as a whole (although with some exceptions when each group is considered separately). Thus minority groups are emptying Inner London faster than the White population, which

has led the Greater London Authority to predict that London is very unlikely to become a plural city where no group has a majority (Greater London Authority, 2007). Minority groups are moving within the UK to suburbs and to mixed urban–rural and rural areas faster than the White population, when considered as a percentage of their existing population in those areas, although the numbers involved remain much smaller than the White population which dominates these areas numerically.

The interpretation of counterurbanisation is problematic without more information from individual migrants. It is likely to involve the satisfaction of aspirations for larger housing in more comfortable surroundings, involving larger mortgages and commuting bills paid for by those with higher incomes. The link between spatial and social mobility is known to operate for long-distance moves, although not for shorter distance moves (Ewens, 2005). The employment and income composition of each minority ethnic group is therefore likely to affect their attitude toward suburbanisation and counterurbanisation, as would their utilisation of household income and the existence and strength of social and kinship networks. Further study requires data with richer information on characteristics, perhaps local and longitudinal databases such as the new UK Household Longitudinal Study, or the National Pupil Dataset which Ewens (2005) explored. Qualitative studies such as those from Debbie Phillips (2006; Phillips *et al.*, 2008) provide essential richness to explanations of migration, and have demonstrated common aspirations among White and South Asian young adults to maintain kinship ties but to move to better environments, and to avoid neighbourhoods where antisocial behaviour is perceived to be accepted. Since kinship ties and cultural traditions are important to all groups, a preference for remaining close to some others in one's own group is to be expected and has not been challenged in this paper. But we have shown that such kinship or cultural ties do not in practice prevent residential mixing nor stop movement on balance away from one's own group. In future both quantitative and qualitative studies might also explore explicitly the relationship between international migration and subsequent internal movement.

Such further study is necessary to understand the Chinese spatial pattern of internal migration

within Britain, which is both urbanising and strengthening concentrations of existing Chinese population. The Indian population also shows movement to urban areas from rural areas, but not the movement to existing concentrations nor the movement to London of the Chinese. One might speculate that some movement from rural areas and isolated towns involves the children of Chinese and Indian immigrant entrepreneurs who contributed to the catering industry and the health service in such isolated areas, where there were and are few to share their cultural traditions. Chinese movement towards its concentrations is contrary not only to other groups' dynamics but to the significant Chinese student immigration of the past decade, which has led to a more dispersed Chinese settlement pattern (evidenced by decreasing concentrations in Table 4). The Chinese is the most spatially spread out of minority groups in Britain, and is the smallest group recorded in the 2001 Census.

In short, the mysteries of race and internal migration are not those of separation, conflict or ghettos, but of detail within a background of common and steady movement from inner cities experienced by White and minority populations alike. This paper has clarified that larger minority concentrations are not the result of racially differentiated internal migration patterns.

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NOTE

- (1) The figures given here differ slightly from those in Simpson (2007: Table 4), where migration rates from minority concentrations were 0.8% for Whites and 0.6% for minorities, due to the focus on UK migration for districts of England and Wales in that paper, rather than the current measurement of Great Britain migration for districts of Great Britain.

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